

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 ACDA-19 MBFR-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SS-15 USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04

AEC-11 OMB-01 /156 R

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8/15/73 EXT.23198

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ACDA/IR - MR. LINEBAUGH(INFORMED)

PM/DCA - MR. BAKER

D/MBFR - MR. SPOTTS NSC-MR.HYLAND

JCS/J-5 - COL. LAFFERTY

EUR - MR. VEST S/S-O: K. KURZE

EUR/RPM - MR. MCGUIRE

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R 152348Z AUG 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T STATE 162304

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

REF: (A) USNATO 3505; (B) USNATO 3236; (C) USNATO 3747

1. WE BELIEVE THAT THE NATO STUDIES OF CSCE PROVISIONS  
FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES HAVE NOT  
SUFFICIENTLY ADDRESSED THE IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO OF PRIOR

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NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS. SO FAR THE SPC

HAS CONSIDERED CSCE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES UNDER THE SINGLE RUBRIC OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF "MANEUVERS/MOVEMENTS" AND HAS IN EFFECT FOCUSED ON THE FORMER WITHOUT GIVING SPECIFIC ATTENTION TO THE LATTER. CONSIDERING THAT PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AT PHASE II OF CSCE WHEREAS PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS WILL ONLY BE THE SUBJECT OF STUDY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE SPC SHOULD CLEARLY DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE TWO IN ITS CONSIDERATIONS.

2. MOREOVER, WE BELIEVE THIS DIFFERENTIATION IS NECESSARY BECAUSE WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS ARE IDENTICAL TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT CSCE PROVISIONS FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS MIGHT

ADVERSELY AFFECT MOVEMENTS OF FORCES OF NATO COUNTRIES FROM EUROPE TO CRISIS AREAS. WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT A CSCE PROVISION FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS MIGHT IMPINGE UPON NEGOTIATIONS ON MOVEMENT CONSTRAINTS IN THE MBFR CONTEXT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIETS MIGHT SEEK TO USE CSCE PROVISIONS FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO FEND OFF MORE STRINGENT CONSTRAINTS UNDER MBFR, OR SUBSEQUENTLY TO LEGITIMIZE MOVEMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE THAT WOULD UNDERCUT MEASURES AGREED IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THESE REASONS WE BELIEVE THAT THE SPC, IN ANTICIPATION OF PHASE II AT CSCE, SHOULD NOW SPECIFICALLY CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS FOR ALLIED FLEXIBILITY OF CONTINUING TO SEEK THE INCLUSION OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN CSCE PROVISIONS.

3. FYI. OUR CURRENT THINKING IS THAT IT IS UNLIKELY THE US WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE TO PROVISIONS FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS THAT MIGHT EMERGE FROM STUDY IN PHASE II OF CSCE. WE COULD NOT AGREE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO PROVISIONS OBLIGATING THE US TO GIVE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF EMERGENCY MOVEMENTS TO THE MIDDLE EAST, OR, FOR THAT MATTER, FOR REINFORCEMENT OF BERLIN; AND WE REGARD IT UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ENTERTAIN

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SERIOUS PROPOSALS EMERGING FROM CSCE PHASE II STUDY WITHOUT DEMANDING RECIPROCAL PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR WESTERN MILITARY MOVEMENTS SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE. CONSIDERING THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD CARRY OUT MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS THEY DEEM ESSENTIAL TO THEIR INTERESTS WHATEVER THE PROVISIONS FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION IN CSCE, WE ARE NOT WILLING TO PAY A PRICE IN TERMS OF ALLIED AND US FLEXIBILITY CONCERNING MOVEMENTS FOR A CSCE PROVISION OF

MARGINAL VALUE TO WESTERN SECURITY. WE DO NOT WISH TO MISLEAD THE ALLIES ON US ATTITUDES ON THIS MATTER AND MISSION IN PRESENTING VIEWS IN PARAS 1 AND 2 SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE SERIOUSNESS OF US DOUBTS. END FYI.

4. IN TERMS OF BROACHING THE FOREGOING WITH THE ALLIES, MISSION MAY WISH INITIALLY TO INFORM FRG DELEGATION THAT PROVISION IN FRG DOCUMENT (REF A) CONCERNING PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS REQUIRES, IN OUR VIEW, FURTHER CONSIDERATION ALONG LINES IN PARAS 1 AND 2 ABOVE. OTHERWISE, WE CAN AGREE WITH FRG DOCUMENT, AND WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW ANNEX MENTIONED IN FRG DOCUMENT. THEREAFTER, MISSION MAY WISH TO INDICATE OUR CURRENT VIEWS TO UK DELEGATION PRIOR TO SPC DISCUSSION, NOTING IN REGARD TO DISAGREEMENT ON PARA 7 OF ILLUSTRATIVE LISTS PAPER, THAT WE WOULD PREFER TO DEFER AGREEMENT ON PRECISE LANGUAGE UNTIL STUDY OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS IS COMPLETE. ROGERS

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